1:Vanhove--70A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 82]

• 142

Muhutu type.
(Official Photograph, Colonial Office.)

1: Vanhove--71A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 83]

142
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Batutsi of northern Ruanda. Their less pure type results from marriages with Bahutu women.
(Official photo, Colonial Office.)

Batussi

3. Physical Characteristics

I have not undertaken anthropological measurements of the Barundi since I was completely occupied by my geographical and ethnographical tasks. My medical companion, Dr. R. Houy (unfortunately murdered in the Cameroons in 1913), whose own field was anthropology but who was at the same time very interested in zoology, found such a rich field in collecting and observing the peculiar fauna of this country that he, too, abstained from the time-consuming anthropological measurements. Thus I had to limit myself to the occasional use of the tape measure and the color scale, and for the rest I can only report general somatic observations.

[8] The most impressive of the Barundi people are naturally the ruling tall Batussi (Plates 11, 12, 14). Aside from their heads which in most cases are smoothly shaven, they physically very much resemble their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. At first glance their Hamitic origin is apparent. On my earlier travels I had often been among the Somali and Galla, and when I was among the Batussi of Urundi and Ruanda it seemed that I had been transported again into the midst of the former, especially the Galla. In one trait, however, the Batussi have an advantage over the Hamites of northern East Africa: they are, on the average, much taller. The most convenient yardstick I carry with me is provided by my own height, and against this I could easily make approximate measurements of the many hundreds of Batussi whom I met. I did not find any adult smaller than 1.77 meters (measured by a tape), few below 1.80 meters, the majority between 1.80 and 1.90 meters, many (about 10 per cent) between 1.90 and 1.95 meters, some few between 1.95 and 2 meters, and a very small number over 2 meters up to an upper limit of 2.08 meters (measured by tape). In spite of their extraordinary height, their body parts are exactly proportioned in relation to each other; not merely are their legs and arms very long but also their torsos which are often so narrow and extended that one can hardly imagine how the internal organs are distributed inside. The impression of abnormal height is further increased by the

●142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aris- [554] tocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

Batussi
Bahutu

142 the other type has a [9] straight or pug nose, a broader nose tip, and a larger, thicker mouth u(Plate 17b). Both types are conspicuously the oval form of the face, the small but pronounced chin, and the complete absence of Negroid prognathism. Yet, 142 frequently, the noble impression of the face is reduced by the 143 fact that the upper front teeth jut out (buck teeth). For this 582 reason the mouth of these individuals mostly remains half open, and one can see the upper four incisors. These crooked teeth, it seems to me, are especially of frequent occurrence among the members of the most distinguished families, both here and in Ruanda; these people are also tallest. Perhaps these two features are special characteristics and result from the long inbreeding of these families, for they marry only among themselves and are severely restricted in their choice (p. 1004-106), while the common Batussi are allowed a wider choice in selecting a mate, and the lowest, poorest class enters into marriages, although not entirely legitimate ones, with the Bahutu as well.

142 If the hair of the head is left unshaven, it is seen to be curly and woolly like that of the Batussi in Ruanda. One also sees at the temples and above the forehead that it does not grow even but in tufts; this is the most Negroid physical feature of the Batussi who, apart from this, do not look like Negroes at all.

142 The second large population group among the Barundi, 144 the Bahutu, who are ruled by the Batussi nobility, have the well-known Bantu physical type, just like all the inhabitants of the interlacustrine area, that is, Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, Karagwe, Kisiba, etc. (Plate 6, 8, 9, 10). The differences between them and the Batussi are immediately visible in their short figures, [141] varying between 1.62 and 1.70 meters, and especially in their shorter legs, their thick-set muscular physique which admittedly often looks frail from undernourishment, and in their genuinely prognathous Negroid skull. Somatically they differ very little from the central Bantu of Unjamwesi and Usukuma, although in some respects they resemble the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region who formerly probably extended farther toward the east (see p. 152 [not translated]). Their eastern branches

142 in Urundi might be compared to the Bakiga [Chiga] in Ruanda.
144 The latter are a tough, strongly built, mountain people who have cleared the forests and differ from the remaining Bantu in the same manner as the Forest Bantu who live in the western mountains of Urundi differ from the other Bantu of Urundi (cf. also No. 47a, p. 272).

Very often, however, among the Bantu of the interlacustrine region are to be seen finer, narrower faces with noses and mouths less broad and with jaws less strongly pronounced than among the others. This is probably caused by the centuries-old admixture of Bahima [Hima] blood, for the Hamitic rulers of the Bantu do in fact often associate with Bantu women but never, or only very exceptionally, do Bantu men associate with Bahima women (p. 101). These individuals among the Bahutu with an admixture of Batussi blood are for the most part taller
[141] than the ordinary Muhutu. All Bahutu are rather dolichocephalic. The hair is curly and tufted, but not of the "peppercorn" type.

The difference between these two racial elements is also
142 apparent in their skin color. The large majority of the Bahutu has the color of dark café-au-lait with violet reflections, approximately Number 28 and 29 of Luschan's color scale. For many persons, however, the color of the skin resembles the reddish tinge of the South American highland Indians whom I know well from former travels [10], which may be ascribed to the admixture of Batussi blood in some of them, but among the others to the customary rubdown with red earth and butter. They then come close to Number 32 of the scale, but only as far as color value is concerned, not in the intensity of the shade. The Batussi, on the other hand, are in most cases light chocolate brown, between Number 26 and 28 of the scale or copper brown like many Indian tribes. Many show lighter gradations depending on the effects of the sun, but always with a predominantly reddish tone, never a yellow-brown or a black one. Batussi women (Plate 15, 17a) are supposed to be in all cases lighter than the men -- I have only seen very few -- because they stay within the homesteads most of the time whereas the Bahutu women, who while working in the fields expose themselves to

142 the sun as much as the men, are the same color as the men (Plate 14b, 16b). Small children are always considerably lighter in skin color.

142 144 The third population group, the Batwa (Plate 7), also have almost the same somatic character in Urundi as their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. The latter are somewhat better known to us through the work of J. Czekanowski. In Ruanda, especially in the forest areas of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes, they have preserved much of their original Pygmy character, for they are still able to lead a withdrawn life of hunting in the forests. Even in Ruanda, however, the majority of them already live as agriculturalists and craftsmen (potters, blacksmiths) dispersed in small communities among the Bahutu and have already received from them a strong admixture of Bantu blood, partly from the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region and partly from the central Bantu of the interlacustrine region. This has also happened to the majority of the Batwa of Urundi since, after the expansion of the Bantu and the disappearance of the forests, they too have been forced to settle among the Bahutu and into agriculture (see p. 152 [not translated]). However, we still meet many among them in whom we can recognize, either at first glance or on closer inspection, the pygmoid characteristics familiar to us from the more northern, racially pure Pygmies of the primeval forest (Wambutti [Bambuti]) of the Ruwenzori and of the upper Ituri.

141 Primarily their stature and the form of their limbs are striking in the case of the Mutwa, but whereas the racially pure Batwa of the Ituri are only between 1.30 and 1.40 meters tall, only among the hunting Batwa of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes are there individuals between 1.40 and 1.55 meters tall. On the other hand, among those engaged in agriculture among the Bahutu, there are few less than 1.60 meters tall, and many are taller. Without exception the women are shorter than the men. Czekanowski lists an average size of 1.53 meters for the Batwa men of Muhawura and for the women of Muhawura, 1.40 meters; for the Batwa men of the agricultural tribes, however, 1.61 meters, and for the women, 1.54 meters.

[141] The latter measurements are in general applicable to the Batwa of Urundi also. All of them have relatively short trunk and
142 limbs. The legs, however, are short in relation to the upper part of the body, but all limbs are well-proportioned and very muscular. The hands and especially the feet are relatively broad and clumsy; the fingers and toes are very short in relation to the back of the hand and the foot. The heel juts out so far in the back that, seen from the side, the lower leg appears to be placed more toward the middle of the foot.

[142] Upon a short neck is set a head which in most cases is fairly round and decidedly brachycephalic, with a short face and broad cheek bones. However, dolichocephalic individuals are not exactly rare. The frontal bone and the arch of the brows usually extend noticeably beyond the face. [11] The nose almost always is indented at the root which causes the forehead to jut out even more; the nose is flat and broad and has a broad, turned-up tip so that one looks into the nostrils. The mouth is of medium size, but the lips are, in most cases, rather thin, and the upper lip often is scarcely arched. The chin is small and somewhat receding. The ears usually have a very small lobe or none at all. The hair is curly, matted, and, whenever closely cropped, stands up in small "peppercorn" tufts, as among the Bushmen of South Africa. Old people have in many cases a very morose or unhappy facial expression due to three or four peculiar wrinkled furrows that run across the forehead, and one or two thick skin folds stretch from each corner of the nose across to the corners of the mouth. They often look almost like swollen scars (see Plate 7).

The skin color of the Batwa is darker than that of the Bahutu, often with a violet tinge even when the skin has been washed clean. In the colored picture in the travelogue of Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, in which a Mututsi, a Muhutu, and a Mutwa are standing side by side, the color of the Muhutu is most faithfully rendered while the Mututsi is too red and the Mutwa too brown.

144 Czekanowski conbines the results of his measurements and his comparisons of the Batwa with the pure Pygmies of the

2: Meyer--241 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 7

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Batwa near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Batwa Making Pottery near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--243 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 9

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Barundi from the Upper Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi from Migeni, West of Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--244 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate 10

Women with Sleeping Sickness, Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Chain Gang in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--245 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 11

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Batussi Delegation of King Mutaga in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

[643]

King Mutaga (*) of Urundi with Batussi Entourage
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--246 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate 12

Entourage of the Muganwa Lusokosa in front of Gitega Station, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Young Batussi, Central Urundi
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

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Muganwa Seruschanja (right) with Two Brothers
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Barundi Christian Barundi Girls, North Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

Plate 14

2: Meyer--248 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Mutussi Girl, Urundi

Muhutu Woman, Urundi

Christian Mutussi Girl, Urundi

(Photos. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 15

2: Meyer--249 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

2: Meyer--250 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 16

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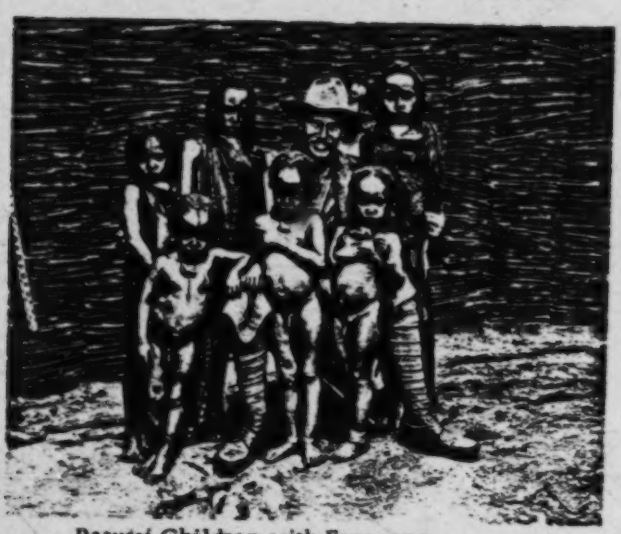

Batussi Children with European
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Bahutu Women and Children, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2; Meyer--251 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 17

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Mother of King Mutaga

Chief Kilima, Northwest Urundi

Muganwa Sindiwironga

Muganwa Kambi

(Photos. by Captain von Langenn)

2: Meyer--259 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 25

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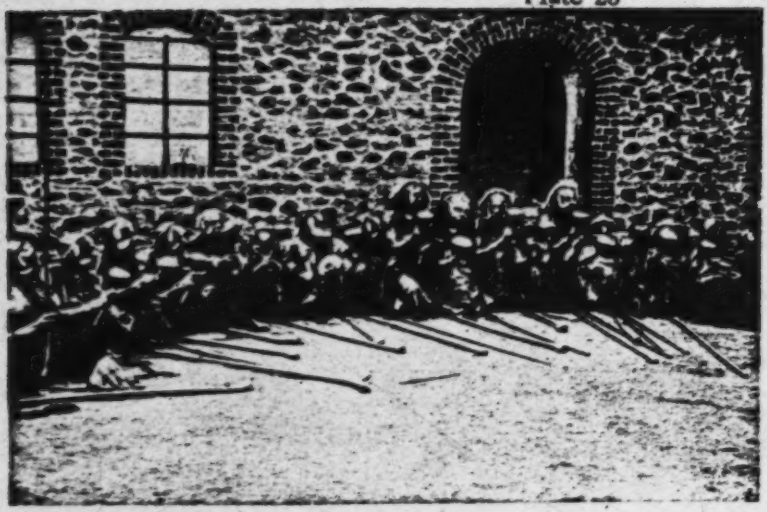

"Cattle Doctors" of King Mutaga During the Exorcizing Ceremony.
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Murundi Woman with Woven Beehives
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--262 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate 28

Murundi Taking Snuff with Nose Clip
(Photo. By Captain Kraut)

[516]

Barundi Taking Snuff by Drawing Tobacco Juice into the Nose
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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800 years before our era. To him is attributed the erection of the lotus column in the Temple of Karnak.

[140] 2.10 meters. /29/

142 They have well-proportioned limbs, regular features, a straight nose, thin lips, and they present striking resemblances to the Egyptian Pharaohs. Like Ethiopians, the Batutsi are characterized by a brown complexion with reddish undertones, at least in some types, and by a somewhat elongated oval face.

157 Usually gay, they are easily approachable and impress others with their noble, slightly haughty but polite manner.

141 While the average stature of the Batutsi is estimated at 1.79 meters, that of the Bahutu is 1.67 meters. The latter are stockier and shorter, with less regular features. Their muscular strength is 147 greater than that of their masters, no doubt because of the heavy work they perform.

152 As a whole, the Bahutu are less appealing, less polite, and shier than the Batutsi. When angry they cannot control themselves 577 as well as the latter, but on the other hand they are simpler and have more rigid mores (1).

515 181 1. Most of the great chiefs are polygamous or keep concubines in their many domains. The simpler Hamitic herders, who are in the majority, are usually monogamous and of a sterling moral character equaling that of the Bahutu. One might even add that those who lead a pastoral life could give the Bahutu advice in matters of decency.

1[i.e., the Batutsi - Analyst]

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
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1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets.
789 The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

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2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks. Not only are they, on the average,

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lighter in color and smaller in size than most Negroes, but in addition they are differentiated from them by a number of other physical characteristics, notably a greater disproportion in the relative size of head, trunk, and limbs. Scientists refuse to call them 'dwarfs,' a term applying to exceptional individuals within a given race and not to a race as a whole. They reject the term 'pygmies,' which stands in our minds for extreme smallness of stature as an essential and predominant characteristic, while the men in question, although rarely taller than 1.55 meters, usually do not stand less than 1.40 meters tall. They were given the name of 'Negrillos'." (Maurice Delafosse, Les Noirs de l'Afrique /The Black Peoples of Africa/, p. 8.)

[141]

563 first and foremost a herding people. When they have neither hills nor villages to administer, they apply themselves almost exclusively to pastoral occupations.

233 556 181 This is their favorite vocation. /31/ Cows mean more to them than anything else. A large herd of cattle is a badge of honor and a sign of wealth. In all truth it may be said that they have an adoration, a passion for cattle. They think and talk of nothing but steers and cows. Their dream, therefore, is to own as many of them as possible. In agreement with the axiom stating that "the lips speak of what is dearest to the heart," they have invented a salutation to express this secret desire of their hearts.

576 Amashyo!, that is to say, "May thou come to own a large number of herds!" says the worthier man. The other replies, Amashongore!,. "May you come to own many cows!"

5: Pages--265 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

5: Pages--267 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi (Batutsi) warrior in dance costume.

Nkusi, Nturo's son, in dance costume.

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5: Pages--268 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Warriors in festival dress.

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Kayondo dancers.

5: Pages--284 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Young Mututsi (Batutsi) woman carrying her baby on the back.

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type with long tufts of hair.

Photo by R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

Mututsi type.

Mututsi type.

5: Pages--285 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her feminine attendants.

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Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type.

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5: Pages--286 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Little girls in children's dress, from the central province of Nduga.

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[482]

Two young Bahutu girls.

5: Pages--287 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type. The long fringed costume they wear is made of banana fibers which they have woven themselves.

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Women of the Muhutu type.

5: Pages--288 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

A leper.

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Young Muhutu girl with tattooing on the back.

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R. P. Provoost of Rulenga

5: Pages--290 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi
FO42

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Winnowing basket serving as an umbrella.

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Umbrella of Isinde cowherds.

5: Pages--291 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Family umbrella.

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[302]

A semicivilized (person).

[177]

5: Pages--293 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Impalement of a cattle thief before European penetration.

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Bellows and apparatus of a primitive forge.

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recog-
191 nize members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation. This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because of their privileged position. They are closely united and give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established order. However, they have little capability for independently organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found where individual provinces have given up their independent political existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
[184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences
[101] and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu. It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants in general, and here memories of the state that united Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
● 142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
• 142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable, [144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 101 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's 103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 101 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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Chief of the Batutse, Ruanda

[facing p. 184]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE XXXII

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Wife of a Prince of the Batuse of Ruanda

[Facing page 194]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Tutsi lord and Hutu client

[Frontispiece]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

orography of the country). They are due to the conjunction of these physical circumstances with the particular way in which the human occupation of the land has taken place.

2. HUMAN OCCUPATION

Several hypotheses have been advanced in attempts to reconstruct the history of the human occupations of Ruanda. We are not concerned with them here. Let us summarize only those features which are of significance for our purpose and which have a high degree of probability.

The present population of Ruanda is clearly composed of three groups: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. These groups are very unequal numerically. In the middle of 1956, according to a Government demographic survey, the Twa constituted 0·67 per cent. of the total Ruanda population, the Hutu 82·74 per cent., and the Tutsi 16·59 per cent.[5] Differences that are immediately noticeable between these groups concern their activities, their social statuses, and their physical types. The Twa are hunters, potters and iron-workers. Twa hunters are not numerous, as game is rare in most parts of Ruanda owing to the scarcity of forest. Some of them make a living as singers, dancers, and buffoons. The Hutu are agriculturists and the Tutsi pastoralists. The statuses of the three groups are hierarchically ranked. The Tutsi group constitutes an aristocracy, the Hutu are commoners, and the Twa are said, half jokingly, by most of the other Ruanda, to be more akin to monkeys than to human beings. A definite physical appearance is considered typical of each group. According to the socially accepted descriptions of the three stereotypes the typical Twa is short, pygmoid rather than pigmy, with a head low in the crown, face and nose flat, cheek-bones prominent, forehead bulging, eyes narrow and slightly oblique. Hutu characteristics are woolly hair, flat broad nose, thick lips often everted, and middle stature. Tutsi are very slender and tall. They often have a straight nose and a light brown skin colour. The objective measurements of Professor Jean Hiernaux do not entirely coincide with these stereotypes.[6]

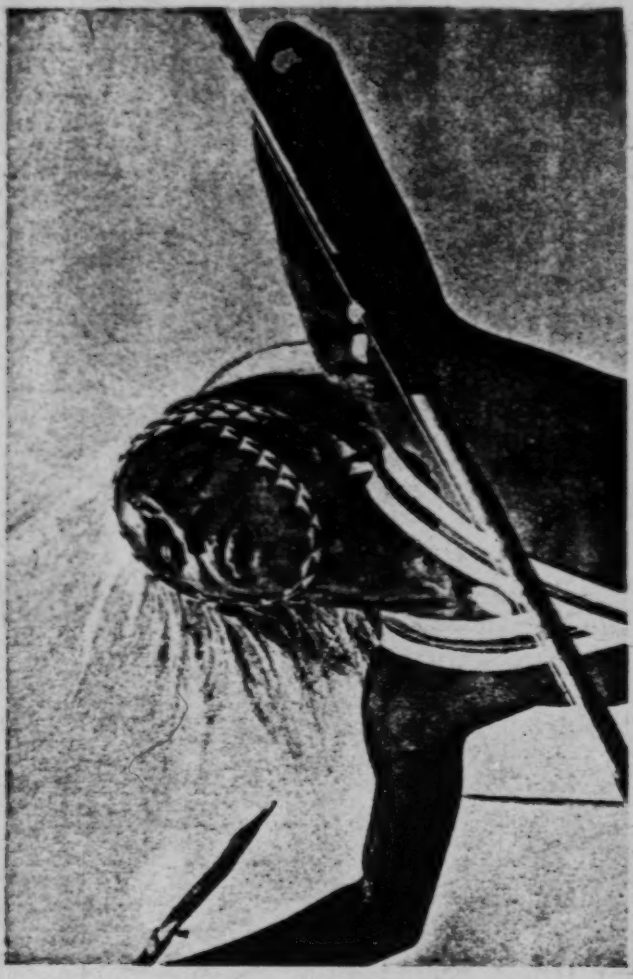
[5] These figures have been kindly communicated by Mr. J. Revelard who was at that time in charge of the Ruanda-Urundi Demographic Surveys (Endemoru).

[6] Hiernaux, 1956b, pp. 34-53. Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 122-34. See the interesting photographs in Czekanowski, 1911, plates 1-61 and in Hiernaux, 1956b, plates VI-VII.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rund FO42

PLATE 2

192
535
411
301
719



Intore warrior dancing

[Facing P. 23]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 3

643
092
301
142

The late king, Charles Mutara Rudahigwa

[Facing p 118]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 4

649
292
301
142
531

The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 6

791
142
302

A Hutu diviner

[Facing P. 135]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi; his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to distinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least, cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are, to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour. True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Otherwise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

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291
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XIII. A Tutsikazi.

[654
301]

XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]